

613 the father's father of the oldest members of the dispersed clan
614 branch but the specific kinship relationships between these
ancestors are forgotten.

The Jegase people do not name a putative founder of the dispersed clan branch. Nor do they assume that the eponymous ancestors of its subgroups were brothers. The single site of settlement of the ancestors of Jegase men in this neighbourhood is their only recognized evidence of common origin. But this focus of their common identity still offsets the more recent attenuation of intra-group relationships owing to dispersal. The lineages emerge as contrasted co-ordinate group-segments because their histories have diverged since they jointly occupied one territorial centre. There is no fiction of opposition between segments in genealogical terms.

Informants sometimes indicated a sense in which certain lineages are considered closer to each other than to the rest of the dispersed clan branch. This type of alignment seemed to be associated with a joint historical identification of these lineages with a part of their group's territory. It is possible that this in turn is due to a closer patrilineal connection now forgotten, but the people do not venture on this type of explanation.

(iii) Authority and land control in the descent group. Anthropologists have remarked on the indeterminate system of leadership in Orokaiva villages and descent groups and the lack of formal sanctions for authority, and government officials have found that continued lack of emerging leaders impedes the planning of local government and village reforms. Williams discusses the 'absence of central authority' (1930:325) and the 'entire lack of any ceremony of chieftainship' (W.23): he points out (1930:104) that the titles for 'big men' (embo pani, embo dombo) imply only that they are 'men of importance who cannot claim to be leaders'.

• [888] There was however, a recognized ascendancy of old men. The 'leader and ruler of any clan' was said to be the eldest of its men provided he was equal to the minimal requirements of the position and 'only in the larger clans, where there are well-defined family groups, does the question of hereditary succession appear, and then it is a somewhat faint appearance' (1928:125) - but only if the large clans are localized, for he says that where 'the clan is scattered, there is no single leadership' (1925:407). [622] On the other hand Reay (1953:115) says that 'the embo kiti, whom F.E. Williams called a "clan headman", but who is really more of a village headman whose position is hereditary within a certain lineage of the clan, has a limited authority which is backed by no sanctions' (embo kiti: first man).

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[178] Our brief investigations indicated that neither seniority by age nor seniority by genealogical position is invariably an attribute of the men who today exercise power among local agnates or have influence in a wider local group. This may indicate recent cultural change. These men very often achieve and maintain such a position as men who are personally active in a wide range of affairs¹ (delegation of responsibility by issuing orders is sometimes spoken of as characteristic of the European system of leadership). They will be vigorous gardeners,² organize feasts and participate in a wide range of traditional exchanges, at the same time building a reputation as a man who has acquired material wealth, e.g., livestock and - to a lesser extent now than formerly - traditional valuables.

555 Not the least of their assets may be a reputation as a practitioner of 'white' magic, or as a dangerous man who has assiduously developed the skills of a sorcerer. The roles of 'big men' with these attributes may not be directly related to their age or genealogical status in a descent group. There are often several such dominant figures in a village.

621 The diffuse pattern of authority evident in villages in the neighbourhood under discussion may be ascribed partly to the fact that the present nucleated settlements are the culmination of a series of what the people feel to have been enforced amalgamations of independent kin groups. Even before this process began no source of political cohesion existed in the form of inherited positions of authority commanding the continuing allegiance of sizeable local groups of dependents.

625 The expansion of villages to embrace more kin groups was accompanied by a proliferation of independent minor leaders in a single local group, not by the consolidation of positions of power. A patrol report of 1948 also revealed that the large Isivita, Isoge and Awala 'native districts' had received so little attention from the District Office nearby that the organisation of villages under village constables had been allowed to deteriorate 'almost to chaos' since the Japanese occupation. 'One constable was found looking after eight scattered hamlets.'³ Moreover in some cases migration seemed to have been so extensive that the areas of a number of constables overlapped.

[575] ¹ Cf. *kiti jigari* (p.30).

² Polygamists were able to maintain larger garden areas than other men. On the incidence of polygamy in the past see Williams 1930:130.

³ Note that in 1924-5 among the Aiga 4 of the 10 village constables were each in charge of 6 or more villages.

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512 time is somewhat different, greater emphasis being laid on the planting of food crops, suggesting that their harvesting is primarily the concern of his daughter. Although he obtained considerable assistance in rebuilding his house during the survey, Umbahapa spent 2.9 hours per week on construction but all other productive tasks are of little significance.

● [888] Social obligations are no longer of much concern to Umbahapa, restricted as he is by his bad leg and increasing age. They account for only 1.9 hours a week and among them mourning predominates. These apart, he is a frequent church attender and periodically visits the clinic in connection with his leg. However, Umbahapa's behaviour shows he is no longer a fully active member of society; his concern is with meeting his subsistence requirements and whether he successfully achieves these on the basis of his efforts alone is questionable. Umbahapa is very dependent on the 'sympathy group' since it is his kinsmen and the community as a whole who have assumed responsibility for his well-being.

433 of shifting cultivators actually do shift their villages to save time
461 as previous investigators have believed: perhaps, we need to look
241 for entirely different motivations.

114 The question is an interesting one, but Sivepe does not
[489] provide a clinching counter-instance. Mr. Waddell's sample was taken
[423] entirely from the Jegase and Timumu clans, while he did not collect
data on travelling time from the Seho clan. Now it is the latter clan
which owns most of the land around New Sivepe, so that their travelling
time is (at least for most families) substantially reduced by the shift.
Furthermore, five of the Jegase households (some of which were formerly
called Timumu) now have gardens very close to New Sivepe. The main
sufferers appear to be two families who migrated from Binduta recently,
whose land is mainly close to Binduta, and against whom feeling has
been building up over the last few years. Mr. Waddell is right,
however, in stressing that the major reason for the shift (as given by
informants) was the closeness of the new village to the road and the
mission station. As such the basis of the shift was practical and
ideological but I believe that overall travelling time was reduced
if both Seho and Jegase clans are taken into account. Certainly the
new village is very close to the land of most of the Sorovi people
who settled in Sivepe in 1966.

The second suggestion made by Waddell is that travelling time
could be reduced, and thus working efficiency increased by land tenure
conversion. He has in mind, I think, the arrangement already found
in Papuan returned servicemen's settlements established by the government
where each individual family is settled on its own 20-acre block and
grows cocoa and subsistence crops there. Conceivably, when tenure
conversion is completed, the Orokaiva might be encouraged to live on
individual farm holdings rather than in compact villages. Some planners
in the Territory are actually playing with this idea. It has many
drawbacks, however: distance from roads, from schools, collapse of
social control institutions, abandonment of useful social development
projects such as the provision of good water supplies in the resettlement
villages.

Comparison with Inonda suggests that as the proportion of adult
males lost through migration from Inonda is smaller, and none of these
males have left dependents in the village, and furthermore, as the
amount of cash cropping work is relatively smaller, the Inonda people
are less pressed for time than those of Sivepe. This is borne out by
the fact that they are away from the village more frequently as
Waddell's statistics show.

114 An interesting discovery made by Waddell concerns the time
887 allocation of the elderly. He shows that in adulthood the amount of
productive work done decreases with age, as does also the amount of
time spent on productive work, but the amount of time devoted to social
activities and contacts outside the village declines even more steeply
after middle age. The Orokaiva has no leisurely old age. Unlike the
• [488] Polynesian elder he does not become a sage, remote from economic

114 affairs, but gives all his declining energies to his garden, keeping
 887 as close as possible to the productive level of his better years. He
 draws closer and closer to his garden where his spirit will dwell after
 death. Apart from the garden, he becomes remote from most things;
 [988] his days of household duties, hunting, fishing, building are over. He
 [995] will, however, make dancing ornaments and weapons and headdresses which
 again lie close to the spirit realm. (I have quoted Waddell's statistical
 evidence for these tendencies in Table 18.)⁴

Now did culture change influence the division of labour between
 462 the sexes? For the traditional productive activities, there has
 241 probably been hardly any change. I have quoted a table of exclusively
 [199] masculine and feminine activities collected by Williams in 1923, and
 hitherto unpublished (Table 19).⁶ Certain tasks of importance were
 omitted from this list, which may explain why Williams did not publish
 it. Sago making was probably always a male activity; so was the use of
 the digging stick preparatory to planting taro and yam. The harvesting
 of taro was probably always a specifically feminine task; there is
 clearly a taboo on men against harvesting taro. Even bachelors never
 do it but must leave it to his mother, his sister or his brother's
 wife. If men did it, I was told, they would not "know how" and they
 would never manage to eke out the crop until the next harvest. This
 did not apply to the harvesting of other crops. When Williams classified
 "planting" as a feminine task, he was probably thinking of the actual
 placing of the cuttings in the ground, though I have seen men as well
 as women do this.

In the Orokaiva view both man and woman are repositories of
 462 capacities and resources specific to themselves; the relationship
 562 between man and woman is the giving of exchange (mine ari) of the
 contributions of each. Man views woman as an equal exchange partner
 and this equality is real even though the care over legal and political
 matters is a distinctively masculine contribution. In the new activities
 [199] introduced since European contact the same balance is preserved. Some
 new duties (e.g., the washing of clothes) were added to the specifically
 feminine preserve, church work and the purchasing of goods became a
 predominantly masculine preserve (as is attested by Waddell's statistics).
 The harvesting of rubber, taught exclusively to men on the plantations,
 became an exclusively male activity. On the other hand, the bulk of
 cash producing activities (working for pay, maintaining, harvesting and
 processing of coffee) were shared.

One interesting observation made by Waddell and confirmed by
 462 me is that most marketing of subsistence crops is done by the women
 [241] whereas marketing of coffee is done by the men. The handling of
 harvested crops is normally a woman's prerogative. These are normally
 [415] carried in large string bags which only married women can own and hang
 over their heads. While the casual European observer supposes that the
 [482] women carrying these large bags are reduced to the status of beasts of
 burden, these bags signify the women's exclusive power over the crop;
 the fuller they are, the prouder the women are of them. Thus, only
 A,B [See Cat. 116, pp. 225, 226, respectively--Analyst]